1· Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

against the Tungans or Chinese Moslems, in order to obviate future rebellion. He employed many of his own relatives and supporters from Hunan Province in his administration, and this accounts for the fact that in the last quarter of the nineteenth century Hunan officials almost completely dominated the Sinkiang administration. While Tso regarded the Uighurs as rebels, he regarded the Tungans as traitors, because they were Chinese in language, and largely Chinese by descent. Partly out of hatred against them as traitors and partly in order to "divide and rule," Tso massacred the Tungans in great numbers but showed the greatest clemency to the Uighurs, the Kazakhs, and the Mongols.

Even after the conclusion of Tso's military campaigns in the Tarim Basin there were debates among high officials and in the Imperial Court as to the status of the reconquered region. Finally the view championed by Tso Tsung-t'ang was adopted by the Manchu Emperor. On November 18, 1884, an Imperial Edict was issued which made Sinkiang a province (*Hsin-chiang*, "the New Territory," or, as it is frequently translated, "New Dominion").[9] Urumchi, under the Chinese name of Ti-hua, was proclaimed the capital and more than twenty district administrations were organized.

The Chinese in this new province may be classified in four categories, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter IV. First are the descendants of criminals and officials who were banished from China during the second half of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth. Second are the families of military and civil officers in Sinkiang, mostly from Hunan, Yunnan, Kansu and the Northeastern (Manchurian) Provinces. Third are the merchants, including money-changers from Shansi, traders from the Tientsin area, and brick tea merchants from Hupeh and Hunan. Fourth are the peasants, whose immigration began in 1776, when an Imperial Edict provided for a subsidy for those who would settle in Sinkiang.[10]

[9] *Tung-hua hsü-lu*, 1a–1b, Kuanghsü 66; *Ta Ch'ing Te Tsung Ching Huang-ti Shih-lu*, 190, 27a–28a; and *Ch'ing Shih Kao, Pen-chi*, Vol. 23, 17a.

[10] Wang Hsien-chien, *Tung-Hua Lu* (Collection of State Papers), Imperial Edict of June, 1776.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

kiang. At the same time Chu Shao-liang, the general who was then the head of the Generalissimo's Northwest Headquarters at Sian, flew to Urumchi to talk with Sheng Shih-ts'ai (who had once been a subordinate of his); and a British-educated official, Chaucer H. Wu (Wu Chai-hsiang), was subsequently appointed Special Commissioner for Foreign Affairs. As part of the same series of moves, the Chinese Moslem General Ma Pu-ch'ing, who could be expected to consider himself a potential rival of Sheng Shih-ts'ai, was appointed Pacification Commissioner of western Ch'inghai, a border region forming part of the Tibetan plateau and overlooking the "back doors" of the southern deserts of Sinkiang.

For his successful mission Chu was offered, according to a Chinese report, a reward of 500,000 Chinese dollars, of which he accepted only a fifth.[53] Later in the same year, when Chiang Kai-shek was at Lanchow, capital of the province of Kansu, General Chu flew again to Urumchi, taking with him no less distinguished a person than Madame Chiang Kai-shek, together with Wu Chung-hsin, who was destined to become Sheng's successor in Sinkiang two years later.

In the fall of 1943 Sheng himself flew to Chungking to confer with Chiang Kai-shek. The Treasury was then instructed to allocate ten million Chinese dollars a year for reconstruction in Sinkiang. Chungking undertook a program of widely advertising the prospects of colonization in Sinkiang. The province was compared with California before 1849, and its Altai region with Alaska before 1867. Refugees from a severe famine in Honan in 1942–1943 were sent out to Sinkiang. Over 4000 of them arrived at Kuchengtze, and 1500 reached Urumchi, but though each household was supposed to be allotted fifteen acres of land, the project was mismanaged and in the end the refugees became tenants and hired farm hands.

In 1943 Chungking began to strengthen its position by sending

[53] Sun Hai-cheng, "Chu Shao-liang on the Wu Chuan Shan," in *Hsin Wen Tien Ti* (monthly), Shanghai, No. 12, April 30, 1948 (in Chinese).

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

writer. From Lanchow along the "panhandle" of Kansu, across the main desert gap and on to Urumchi, the distance is nearly 2000 miles. Yet a blockhouse was maintained about every twenty miles along the route. Supplies and transport were kept moving only by heavy requisitions in kind and in labor from the sparse population. The troops, who themselves were not well treated, were not under good discipline, and when turned loose they treated the people even worse.[62]

Chinese colonization has resulted in the addition of very few owner-cultivators. Many famine refugees have died even after their arrival in Sinkiang, and in the cities and towns there has been a great increase in the number of beggars and thieves.[63] Heavy taxation and inflation stimulated bitter hatred against the Chinese accompanied by much resentment even among Chinese against the political regime. As one American reporter observed, "to save Sinkiang, China would have to make spectacular reforms on a scale unknown in the Orient. But even if this were possible and if it were done, China's efforts might break down against the barrier of emotion"—meaning the aroused nationalism of the Uighurs.[64]

In the rivalry for power in Sinkiang in the last years of Kuomintang rule, the C.C. Clique had the upper hand over the Political Science Group most of the time. It was able to use, in succession, an old-line bureaucrat like Wu Chung-hsin, a general like Chang Chih-chung, and a wealthy Uighur landlord member of the Kuomintang like Masud Sabri.

Wu Chung-hsin, long associated with the C.C. Clique, long active in frontier affairs, and long distrusted by Mongols and Tibetans, was appointed provincial Chairman in October 1944. Though a graduate of the Paoting Military Academy, his most important posts had been in the Civil Service. He was Governor of Anhui, his native province, in 1929, Governor of Kweichow

[62] Chung Shih, "The Puzzle in Sinkiang," in *Min Chu* (*Democracy*, weekly), Shanghai, March 16, 1946, Nos. 21–22 joint issue (in Chinese).

[63] Ch'en Ssu-ying, "Agriculture in Sinkiang," in *Central Bank Monthly*, New Series, Vol. 1, No. 6, Shanghai, June, 1946 (in Chinese).

[64] Frank Robertson.

legumes. Despite difficult conditions, the land is apparently capable of supporting a larger population than it does at present. In the T'ang Dynasty, the population was of such a size as to support five hundred monks and a military force of no less than a thousand men. In the last century the population has declined, in part because of slave-hunting raids conducted by peoples from northern India before and after the time of Yakub Beg.

At present the settled population lives in close contact with pastoral Kirghiz. The relations between the two groups appear to be friendly. On the other hand the relations of the Tashkurgan population with the Chinese administration have not been good in recent years. There existed in the area an organization known as the Partisans of the Red Tents — made up of Kirghiz or Iranians or both — which opposed the provincial administration and was friendly toward the program of the Kulja group. Whether the name of the organization is due to a more decided political coloring cannot be ascertained as yet.

3. NATIONALITIES WITH NO REGIONAL OR TERRITORIAL BASE OF THEIR OWN

Chinese. It is noteworthy that though Sinkiang is a Chinese province, there is within it no significant territorial enclave in which the population majority is solidly Chinese. Ever since the foreign policy of China first penetrated Sinkiang in the second century B.C., the Chinese have intermittently figured among the important population groups in the area, but not as colonizers who displaced the native population from large blocks of territory. In between the periods of their ascendancy they either remained as an alien minority, returned to their homeland, or disappeared in the savage massacres which they often invited by their own misrule.

In the second half of the last century the Chinese were almost wiped out in the great rebellions which shook the whole northwestern section of the Manchu Empire. Since then they have filtered back into the area. With the exception of criminal exiles sent to Sinkiang under the Manchu regime, the Chinese who have

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1
Chinese

come to live there in modern times divide sharply along provincial lines closely related to political history.

Hunanese and men from the lower Yangtze Valley have long formed the bureaucratic elite; Tientsin men hold the strongest position in trade; Shansi men control the camel caravans carrying goods across Mongolia between Sinkiang and North China, and Kansu Province has been the principal source of farming colonists.

When Tso Tsung-t'ang, a Hunanese general who had served under the Manchus against the Taiping rebels, undertook the task of suppressing the Moslem revolts, the army he commanded was composed largely of Hunanese. Many of them remained in Sinkiang after the completion of the campaign. Some became landowners and officials in the Provincial Government, in which they long exercised such a dominating influence that Sinkiang was called a "Hunanese colony."

Tso's expeditionary force was accompanied by large numbers of Tientsin merchants who sold to the army en route and then settled down in Sinkiang. They were later joined by their families, many of which brought more goods along with them, so that Tientsin traders soon appeared throughout the urban centers of the province.

During the rule of Yang Tseng-hsin, who remained as Governor of the Province after the Revolution of 1911, a number of fellow provincials from Yünnan came to take advantage of his position in the province. A few Kansu Chinese came in during the ascendancy of Chin Shu-jen. Later some 10,000 Chinese troops from Manchuria, interned in Siberia when they had retreated after fighting against the Japanese, were "repatriated" by the Soviet Union to Sinkiang after Sheng Shih-ts'ai, a native of Manchuria, became Governor of Sinkiang. Still later refugees from the Honan famine of 1944 were transported into the province by the Central Government authorities to take up land expropriated from Kazakhs.

In addition to the above-mentioned Chinese, other groups, distinguished from the main body by their adherence to the Mos-

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1
Chinese

lem faith, have also settled down in Sinkiang. Many were first placed in Sinkiang by the Manchu Emperor Ch'ien-lung after he had crushed the Jungar Mongols in the eighteenth century. Later other groups of Chinese Moslems sought refuge in the area as the aftermath of Moslem uprisings in the northwestern part of China proper. These are the Dungans (in Chinese transcription, T'ung-kan). Most of them were from Kansu Province, some from Ninghsia, others from Shensi.

So important is the religious factor in distinguishing between Moslem and non-Moslem Chinese that often they are considered as two distinct peoples. In Sheng Shih-ts'ai's classification the main body of Chinese are designated as "Han" and the Moslem Chinese as "Hui." The former number some 202,000, and the latter 92,000. The term "Hui" is short for "Hui-hui"; and, although it derives from a medieval transcription of the name of the Uighurs, it is applied to all Moslems. The term "Dungan," for the Chinese Moslems — used invariably by the Russians in Tsarist times, and also in the Soviet literature dealing with the small colonies of Moslem Chinese in the Kazakh and Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republics — is of Turkic origin. Its meaning is obscure, but it may mean "the returners." This etymology is supported by the folk tradition that the Chinese Moslems are the descendants of mercenary troops who entered China from Inner Asia and later settled down and took Chinese wives. Thus when they were moved westward again, into Sinkiang, in the eighteenth century, they were said to be "returning" toward their ancient homes.

Like the main body of Chinese, those of Moslem faith are to be found in many cities of Sinkiang but chiefly in those in the northern part of the province. They are also important in the caravan trade, in the running of inns and caravanserais, and in the military forces. Some have also taken to the land.

Enjoying a virtual monopoly of the provincial administration, the non-Moslem Chinese have upheld the bureaucratic tradition of scholarship and learning. Apart from the official class, however, the Chinese in Sinkiang appear to be no less illiterate than those in the rest of China. Illiteracy is especially high among the

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1
Great Russians
Manchu

citizens of China or of the Soviet Union. An important subsidiary problem is the fact that when a Russian living abroad is granted a Soviet passport he is not automatically free to return to the Soviet Union at his own discretion. In the past, the Soviet authorities in China have at times given Soviet passports and protection to Russian exiles, without granting them permission to return to the Soviet Union. Turkic nationalists like Masud Sabri consider that the Russians have Soviet citizenship and hence cannot be counted among the nationalities in Sinkiang. In this attitude there is a suggestion that Soviet citizenship is incompatible with Sinkiang residence. Yet it is probable that many Russians would like to have both. Given an administration which can make use of their abilities, the Russians, because of their technical qualifications, could make important contributions to the progress of the area. This is the best they can hope for in an area where they can never represent more than a minute fraction of the population.

563* 648

Manchus. The Manchus of Sinkiang include the Solons and the Sibos, who are not, tribally speaking, true Manchus. All three belong to the Manchu tribal coalition, which conquered all of China and all but disappeared from sight when their rule was terminated in 1911. Only in Sinkiang have the Manchus been able to preserve the characteristics which set them off from other peoples. Manchus, Solons, and Sibos are listed together as numbering 12,362 people.

563* 101 161

The first significant numbers of Manchus came to Sinkiang in the second half of the eighteenth century in the course of the campaigns against the Jungar Mongols. Following their victory the Manchus attempted to consolidate their holdings by placing administrators and troops in key positions. A city was built in the strategic Ili Valley as the center from which to administer the region as a whole and to command the Manchu garrisons stationed throughout the province. In contrast to most garrisons, which consisted of a few isolated troops, stationed in important urban centers and forbidden by Manchu dynastic law to engage

563* 167 174

*563 in either agriculture or trade, those in the Ili area were established as military colonists. One garrison consisted of Solons from
•167 the upper course of the Nonni River in Northwestern Manchuria,
174 famed for their skill in archery. The Solons were regarded by the Manchus as a valuable auxiliary tribe, but their original language, as still spoken in Manchuria, is different from Manchu, though related to it. Another garrison consisted of Sibos, from Central Manchuria, who were often employed in the province as scribes and clerks. The Sibos are also not regarded as "true" Manchus. They appear to be of captive or semislave origin, and were perhaps a tribe akin to the Manchus who resisted Manchu unification at the beginning of the seventeenth century. They had a reputation for not succumbing to Chinese influence and for retaining command of their own language and customs. Both groups were given rich lands in the Ili Valley, the Solons on the right bank of the river and the Sibos on the left bank.

*563 During the 1911 Revolution most of the city Manchus in Sin-
174 kiang were massacred, but the village communities defended
161 themselves and survived. At present the Solons number 2500 and
361 the Sibos 9200 out of the total number of "Manchus" in the prov-
101 ince. With the exception of some 1700 in the Chuguchak region, virtually all of those classed as Manchus are in the Ili Valley. Here they continue to predominate in a few villages on either side of the river in territory that is predominately Kazakh or Uighur.

*563 For the most part, the Manchus live by agriculture — though
241 this is supplemented also by sheep raising and hunting. To a con-
231 siderable extent they have succeeded in maintaining their tradi-
191 tional way of life, even to the point of preserving their military ability. Nevertheless they are also in the forefront of current developments in the province. Many speak other languages beside their own, including Russian. At one time there was even talk among them of replacing their Manchu writing with a script based on the Latin alphabet. The Sibos in particular have been highly praised for distinguishing themselves in carrying out tasks assigned them by the Kulja regime, such as delivering grain and clover.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

lution and civil war in which some of the non-Russians were on both sides of the fight among Russians. As the revolution deepened from a political struggle into a class war, the lines of cleavage more and more grouped together the possessors, Russian and non-Russian, fighting to preserve at least something of the old order, and the dispossessed, Russian and non-Russian, trying to take complete possession of the new order.

In many of the regions in which the Russians were in a minority, the outcome of the revolution was determined by non-Russians who took the side of the Russian Bolsheviks.[2] Before the final outcome, however, there were two intermediate stages, and during each of these stages, and after the victory of the Bolshevik Revolution, there were important migrations out of Russian territory which carried the effects of the revolution into the adjoining lands of Inner Asia.

In the first of these intermediate stages non-Russian nationalists came into power or almost within reach of power in their own territories. In Inner Asia there were two groups of these nationalists. One — including such potentates as the Emir of Bokhara and lesser representatives of the old systems of nobility and chieftainship which had been subjected to the Russsians — was not guided by political theory. Individuals of the group, rather than the group as a whole, simply tried to resume as much as possible of the power that they had had before the Russians came. If the power they could take into their hands was not enough to make them feel secure, they were inclined to look for protection to the British, who were intervening against the Russian Revolution from the side of Asia as well as from the side of Europe.

The second group — many of whose members stemmed from families in the first group — was led by non-Russians who had had some years of Russian schooling and who, very often, had

[2] See above, Chapter I; also Owen Lattimore, "Yakutia and the Future of the North," *American Review on the Soviet Union*, New York, Vol. VI, No. 2, February 1945; reprinted in *New Compass of the World*, ed. Hans Weigert, Vilhjalmur Stefansson, and Richard Edes Harrison, New York, 1949, pp. 145–146.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

held positions in the Russian service. This group had some idea of political theory and modern politics. On the whole, its ambitions did not go beyond local autonomous government, with members of the group holding higher positions than they had formerly held — especially, of course, the top positions once held by Russians. For allies, this group looked to the Russian Mensheviks; as the Mensheviks weakened and failed, they also looked to the British; when the British intervention failed, those who could gave up the struggle and fled into exile — a few to Europe, but many more to Iran, Afghanistan, and Sinkiang.

The second stage, marked by the British intervention, began where the first had ended. The British intervention was directed from Iran and Mesopotamia. It endeavored to mask Afghanistan, where suspicion of British policy was very strong, and it also operated, to a minor though significant extent, from Kashgar in Sinkiang.[3] Beginning as an attempt to prevent German and Austrian prisoners of war interned in Russian Turkistan from being repatriated to Germany, and to prevent accumulated stocks of cotton from being delivered to Germany after the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, it quickly turned into an attempt to prevent the Bolshevik Revolution from seizing the Baku oil fields, and to complete the *cordon sanitaire* around Russia. As they failed and withdrew, the British carried along with them an ebb tide of people fleeing from the Revolution, both Russians and people of every Inner Asian nationality.

Nor did emigration end with the Bolshevik victory. With each new phase of Bolshevik policy, and especially during the bitter struggle over collectivization, which was virtually a new civil war, new waves of refugees sought an escape into Sinkiang and the other Inner Asian lands around the Soviet frontier. In this way the primary effect of the Russian Revolution was to spread alarm far and wide beyond the Russian frontiers.

In time, however, a second or long-term series of effects began to become apparent. These effects were enhanced by the fact that

[3] See, especially, Lt.-Col. F. M. Bailey, *Mission to Tashkent*, London, 1946; also L. V. S. Blacker, *On Secret Patrol in High Asia*, London, 1921.

162 ten per cent of the people of Sinkiang. It is doubtful if the exact number who live in Sinkiang is known, but Owen Lattimore indicated in 1934, at the start of Sheng Shih-ts'ai's administration, that they numbered one to two hundred thousand and were mostly distributed in the north. These are, in a sense, the "Chinese" with whom the Occident has long
167 been familiar. But often they are descendants of men who came to Sinkiang as criminal exiles. Other Han Chinese migrated there as merchants. Many came as a "gravy train" along with appointment of a leading official from their home region. Tso Tsung-t'ang, who "pacified" the Chinese Northwest near the close of the Manchu Dynasty and was mainly responsible for formal establishment of the province, was a Hunan man and brought many Hunanese into Sinkiang with him. In like manner, Yang Tseng-hsin, who had a long term as governor at the turn of the twentieth century, brought many from his native province of Yünnan. Chin Shu-jen later added more from Kansu.

463 These Han Chinese became mainly the administrators, the soldiers, the traders, the businessmen, the shopkeepers, of their communities. Shansi men have been noted as money-lenders, Pei-p'ing and Tientsin men as general merchants, and Hunan and Hupeh men particularly as dealers in brick tea. Chinese entering Sinkiang from the east did not often become farmers except for a few, such as those who fled from dire poverty in Kansu and Shensi. Usually the Han have located in the larger cities of the province, and the great majority have settled around Tihwa and Sui-ting and some in Kashgar, farther south.

439 Han Chinese organized and maintained much of the trade which passed through Sinkiang from the Occident to the Orient and back in olden days. There was principally a commerce in tea, silk, and spices and the commodities for which these things were exchanged, such as furs, skins, jade, and rare metals. Due to troublesome factors of distance and topography, as well as of war and politics, this remained for the most part a luxury commerce and was always too precarious of itself to support the outlying frontier. The "foreign trade," it has been said, went "over the heads" of the native population. It did so because it was largely a Han Occidental, and not so much Sinkiang-Occidental, commerce.

Today at last Han Chinese appear destined to settle on the land in Sinkiang. If successful this should be a substantial gain to the province and should give their colonization more permanence than that of previous days. Yet, the question of what land is being allotted to these Han Chinese will merit most careful handling. For allocation of native soil to "outlanders" has long been a touchy subject in Sinkiang.

The Tung-kan: Chinese Moslems

Among the Han Chinese of Sinkiang there are a large number who adhere to the Mohammedan faith and yet are distinct from the other Moslems of the province. These *Han Hui* ("Han Moslems") are also known as *Tung-kan Hui* or often just as *Tung-kan* (Dungan). The name, Tung-kan, has been explained in many ways. Chiang Chün-chang says it is of Russian origin and means "Mohammedan Offenders of the East" or "Offenders of the East." Another variation, *Kan Hui,* according to Chiang, means "Mohammedans of Kansu" and indicates that many of the Tung-kan hail from there. Probably the Tung-kan are offspring of Central Asians who wandered into Kansu and married Chinese women. Owen Lattimore concludes that, in a kind of reverse migration, they were sent back into Chinese Turkestan during Manchu Dynasty times in order to offset Mongol influence. They are quite distinct from the "head-binding," or turbaned, Wei-wu-erh; the two groups have often opposed each other violently, and before China's resistance to Japan it was said that they had in common only their religion.

One finds the Tung-kans not only in Sinkiang but throughout the Chinese Northwest, particularly in Shensi, Kansu, Ningsia, and Ch'ing-hai. As a racial group they are said to be of greater virility than the regular Han Chinese; they are of a fine, sturdy stock and are particularly noted for their soldiery. They are also devoted Moslems. The most usual surname among them is Ma, the Chinese character for horse, which may represent a Chinese attempt at transliterating the sound "Mohammed." The saying that *Wu Ma,* "Five Ma," rule the Chinese Northwest, shows how strong the power of the Tung-kans has been in modern China.

2 Norins S-4 (1939-1941) 1944 All Sinkiang All
Manchu

563
167 Many of the Tung-kans have traditionally settled in Ha-mi, Karashahr, Sui-ting and Tihwa. It was Moslems from Ha-mi, near the Kansu border, who summoned the Tung-kan leader Ma Chung-ying from Kansu to lead the revolt of the early 1930's (see pp. 40-5). As a consequence of the civil war Tung-kans are now scattered almost throughout South Sinkiang. In 1935 when they gave up Kashgar they were assigned their own "domain" at Khotan, which they had previously fortified and made the focus for their abortive Mohammedan state. Some of them may even still be under arms. Recent news concerning the Tung-kan armies of Central Asia has not always been freely available, but reports have said they have been strongest in the outlying towns of Southern Sinkiang—Posgam, Karghalik, Guma, Khotan, Chira, Keriya, Cherchen, and Charklik. The 1942 appointment of Ma Pu-ch'ing, famous Tung-kan leader of Shensi and Kansu, as Pacification Commissioner of the Tsaidam Marches of Western Ch'inghai, is of interest in this connection. For the attitude, belligerent or otherwise, of the Chinese Tung-kans of neighboring provinces carries great weight among their kinsmen in Sinkiang.

Manchus and Manchurians

Manchus came to greatest prominence in Sinkiang during the expansionist periods of the Ta Ch'ing (Manchu) Dynasty of China. K'ang Hsi (1662-1722) and Ch'ien Lung (1736-1795) sent thousands of Manchu "Bannermen" to fortify the Turkestan frontier. Thus Sinkiang was garrisoned at one and the same time against Imperialist Russian aggression and against uprisings of the Tung-kans.

These Manchus at one time were scattered throughout the larger cities of Sinkiang but today they appear to have been mostly assimilated into Han Chinese ways of living. Two of the most notable exceptions have been the Sibo and Solon peoples in the Sui-ting and the T'a Ch'eng areas. The Sibos *(Hsi-po)* and the Solons *(So-lun)*, though from Manchuria, actually are of Tungusic origin, only indirectly of Manchu stock and distinct from the other Bannermen who for the most part made up the Manchu military organizations sent into Sinkiang. Most of the Bannermen gradually lost their identity because they

Manchu
Mongol

had not held land or engaged in trade in Sinkiang, but not so the Solons and the Sibos. They settled on the land and colonized in a resolute way. 563 167

The Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 has brought many Manchurians into Sinkiang as refugees. These took a prominent place immediately in the life of the New Sinkiang, and they have constituted a considerable numerical addition to those already in the province.

Since Sheng Shih-ts'ai is a Manchurian, his administration has offered this people another unique role in Sinkiang, comparable to that of the Bannermen of previous days. Sheng and those of his blood, for one thing, can serve as "middlemen" between the Han Chinese from other provinces and the Wei-wu-erh. For another, by helping in the reconstruction of Sinkiang they can be preparing a formidable supply base in the "rear" by which their Manchurian homeland may ultimately be liberated from Japan.

The Mongols

Genghis Khan's Mongols, who in the thirteenth century subjugated Chinese Turkestan and long were dominant there, now amount to only about five per cent of the Sinkiang inhabitants. Picturesque in their role as nomadic horsemen, but not so picturesque in their susceptibilities to drink, the Mongols of Sinkiang constitute one of the great ethnological curiosities of the world. They have a great past to look back to; yet how they have changed! They once possessed the vigor and strength to sweep across all Asia in conquest and even to terrify Europe; they set up vast kingdoms and in the heyday of Kublai Khan, the Mongol Court at Peking was liberal and cultured, a great patron of the arts. But for four hundred years the Mongols have been under the religious whip of the Lamaist church, and only now in the twentieth century are they gradually rebelling, under the spur of ideas introduced from Soviet Russia. [162] 563

A fascinating figure they cut as they swagger about in long varicolored gowns, large over-sized knee-boots, and broad-brimmed and cone-topped hats. They are persistent drinkers, and can have a rousingly good time on almost anything intoxicating from *arak* or Russian vodka [291] [273]

to a rare imported 85 brandy.

648 Wong Wen-hao undoubtedly were occasions which helped Chungking and Tihwa to seal their new bargain. On September 16, 1942, it was announced that Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek himself had just returned to Chungking after a month's inspection of the Chinese Northwest, and the next day came word that $10,000,000 CNC was being allocated annually for reconstruction projects in the latter region.

167 In the fall of 1943, after almost a month of conferences between Sheng Shih-ts'ai and Chiang Kai-shek at Chungking, a great pilgrimage toward Chinese Central Asia began. By October 23, fifteen hundred Chinese settlers, refugees from the famine area of Honan, had arrived at Tihwa to engage in land reclamation, over four thousand more had reached the town of Ch'i-t'ai and many additional thousands were expected to migrate to such Sinkiang cities as Tihwa and Kashgar. It was reported that the Sinkiang provincial government was to make a loan of $5,000 Chinese currency available to the settlers, and each family was to receive over fifteen acres of land. "Provisions, seeds, cows, farmhouses and all necessary farm implements," together with an outright subsidy of $2,500 CNC for "each family" were also to be theirs. Is it any wonder that the hard-pushed Chinese peasant, weak from the barest of sustenance, has straightened up with new hope at the promise of land, tools, and capital in Sinkiang!

"Sinkiang today," a Chinese writer has stated, "is like California before 1849 and Altai is like Alaska before 1867." Not only can the land be made to produce more food, but the mineral wealth is relatively untouched. It has been said that wars make nations, and it may well be that the Chinese in days to come will feel positively indebted for the restlessness of necessity which Japan's aggression has aroused in the melting pot of Asia. For thousands of picked men out of the fifty millions who fled from Eastern China to Szechwan and Yünnan in 1938 and 1939, once more have picked up possessions and have poured across the mountains and plains—this time north and westward into Sinkiang. Over the gravel-mud roads of Shensi and Kansu, across the turbid Yellow River, west of the River, and then through the Jade Gate to Central Asia they went, taking their bedding, their baskets, treasured family heirlooms, needed household utensils, their wives and

sons and hopes. The man on foot, the riksha, the rubber-tired cart, a camel of the Gobi, a General Motors or a Russian Ziss truck—all these have been China's "covered wagon." The throng of people has been jolly, too; jammed in with youth, and gasoline drums, and the *ch'i-lai* of the Chinese marching song. Behind this push into China's vast Northwest has been largely a determination to build a land hard with metal and tough with industrial sinew. But there has been also the lure of adventure, good living, age-old lore, and rich cultural promise. 167

Into the land of the Wei-wu-erh to which Sheng Shih-ts'ai has brought his Six Great Policies and the understanding and justifiable pride among races that they have taught, the Chinese today once again has come. This time he has come not merely as in antiquity but also as a producer—a farmer, a laborer, a technician, a leader united with the leaders of many other races. As a Chinese he has been among the first to perceive that superlative amounts of ideas, energy, men, and machinery are needed in a hurry in Sinkiang and that part of all this may come from any one or more of a number of neighboring areas—India, Afghanistan, Soviet Turkestan, Siberia, and Mongolia—as well as from China proper. Ultimately the matériel and technical initiative for much of it, he knows, must flow from the United States and Britain, as in the past decade much has come from Soviet Russia. Pioneers of American and English, as well as of Asiatic, background may be expected to hear this call of the Chinese Far West. Through them, and others, Sinkiang promises to be transformed into a grand new frontier area of progress.

That there has been serious American interest in these Sinkiang developments was revealed on April 19, 1943, with the temporary appointment of Mr. Oliver Edmund Clubb as United States Consul to Tihwa. Mr. Clubb's assignment, the later arrival in the Sinkiang capital of a British colleague, and reports from usually reliable sources in October, 1943, that "Russians" have been "leaving Sinkiang Province in large numbers" and "dismantling and removing Russian-built plants," that the roads of the province have been "dotted" with "cars hauling out Russian equipment" and that a "Russian garrison" was leaving "by truck, in small units"—these suggest that Chinese aid and influence 648

S N 563 182 II. Stability of the Societies in the Northwest

It is safe to say that the minorities of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu represent rather unstable societies. This instability has several causes. The first is certainly the fact that the Turks, the Mongols and the Tibetans consider themselves utterly different from the Chinese in regard to race, religion, language, and ethnic grouping; therefore they desire independence and do not want to be ruled by "aliens," which they consider the Chinese to be. The second reason for instability S N [167] is the progressive settling and colonization by Chinese peasants who cut down the pasture areas of the nomadic Mongols, Turks, S N and Tibetans, and consequently provoke hatred against themselves. The third reason for the unstable character of the [651] societies of the Northwest was the reckless taxation of the minorities by many Chinese officials who considered their offices in areas like Sinkiang and Chinghai as an opportunity to gain wealth while holding those offices for a limited number of years. In periods of wars, the minorities were subject to merciless requisition of their cattle and agricultural products. In addition to the friction and animosity between the minorities S N and the Chinese, the disunion among the minorities themselves 563 was at times considerable. As an illustration one might re- 669 member that during the uprisings of the Dungans between 1931 182 and 1936, the Chinese Muslims fought against Turkic Muslims (which supposedly represent a single religious unit), Mongols, Chinese, and White Russians fought against the Chinese Muslims (Dungans) and the Kirghiz and Kazakhs even formed a special unit and fought against both groups or joined one of the two according to the military situation, opportunistically. This period was without doubt the culmination of disunion and confusion among minorities of the Northwest during the last decades.

S 563 635 182 On the other hand, when a governor who was more interested in the welfare of the country as such than in his own enrichment, like Sheng Si-ts'ai of Sinkiang with a cleaner officialdom, ruled the province, the society gave a more stable impression and the S N frictions between the various nationalities decreased.

563 798 182 A further reason for the disunion of the society in the Northwest is the incompatibility of various religions, especially the "martial" Islam on the one hand and the more peaceful Buddhism on the other. The Muslims feel superior to any other religious community; the Buddhists (Mongols, Tibetans, Shera Yögurs, Monguors) consider the Muslims as having a barbarian religion; the Chinese, generous and tolerant in regard to religions consider at least Islam to be somewhat inferior to their own multi-religious conceptions and beliefs.

000 Imperial Russian government.

159 635 175 648 167 The revolution in Russia presented fresh problems to Yang's administration. In 1917, hordes of Kazakhs who were residents of Russian Turkestan, fled from conscription and poured into Sinkiang. At one time, it was estimated that there were 200,000 Kazakh refugees in the province, of whom about 100,000 were in the vicinity of Ili and 70,000 in Tarbagatai. Yang used his good offices to persuade the Soviet Government to pardon them and to permit these Kazakhs to return home. Following the Kazakhs, large numbers of White Russian emigres entered Sinkiang between the years 1918 and 1921. Yang drove out the more truculent ones, disarmed the others and gave them asylum in Sinkiang. Many of them enlisted in his forces.

159 635 175 648 The Soviet domination of Outer Mongolia resulted in the complete repudiation of Chinese authority by all the Mongols except those in the inner regions of the border provinces who were more accessible to Chinese influence.

These new developments impelled Yang Tseng-hsin to adopt a campaign to promote dissension among his nomadic subjects. To accomplish this first he withdrew from the Mongols their rights to all the nomad lands granted them under the Manchu dynasty. Under these rights the Kazakhs had been required to pay grazing fees to the Mongols for use of the land. Then he withheld arms from the Mongols and supplied them to the Kazakhs, thus insuring the continuation of hostilities between the two peoples. These measures, coupled perhaps with the enmity which often exists between peoples of different faith and tradition, were sufficient to prevent the Sinkiang Mongols from joining with their kinsmen beyond the Altai. Under the pressure of Kazakh raids that penetrated even to the north of the Altai range, the Mongols of Sinkiang retreated farther into the province. Communication between them and Outer Mongolia came to an end.

175 648 The revival of a spirit of independence among the Mongols was characterized generally by a lack of native leaders or of outstanding personalities of any sort. Nevertheless, there was one individual whose ambitions were associated with this spirit and who enjoyed a brief success as a Mongol leader. This was Dambijantsin or Ja Lama. Ja Lama, a Russian Kalmuck by birth, appeared in Western Mongolia in the early twentieth century. With his propaganda for the revival of the Mongol federation, he succeeded in attracting a following. As early as the late nineteenth century, travelers in Outer Mongolia had heard reports of Ja Lama. He claimed to be the grandson of Amursana, the last great Oirat chieftain, and he foretold the liberation of the Mongols from the Chinese by the action of forces that would gather in Siberia. Some such legend seems to have been current among the Oirats at that time. The Russian traveler, Roborovski, heard rumors that Amursana himself would return to unite the Western Mongols. Whether he created the legend or merely

175 with Russia and sought to return to the fold of China. The National
159 Government had been waiting for this opportunity. Immediately it
648 dispatched officials to Sinkiang to take over the administration from
• [167] Sheng's underlings; Nationalist troops under Chu Shao-liang and Ma Pu-fang were sent to overawe Sheng's army; and another tide of Chinese colonists invaded Sinkiang and were settled in the vicinity of Urumchi.

Under these circumstances, Sheng Shih-ts'ai tried to shift back to Soviet Russia. Moreover, by this time, Russian forces had rolled the German invaders back from Leningrad and Stalingrad and were steadily advancing. In 1944, Sheng ordered the arrest of Chinese Nationalist officials and also of students and teachers from China Proper. His coup failed and the National Government removed Sheng from the governorship of Sinkiang and transferred him to Chungking to the sinecure position of Minister of Agriculture. This was the end of the colorful career of Sheng Shih-ts'ai. A trusted Nationalist official, Wu Chung-hsin, was appointed as governor of Sinkiang.

175 One of the many problems that Wu Chung-hsin inherited from
159 Sheng Shih-ts'ai was that of the Kazakhs in Ili. In 1940 Sheng had
669 arrested 70 Kazakh delegates from the Altai region who had come to
[563] protest his high-handed treatment of their people. When news of the arrest reached the Kazakhs, they revolted en masse, led by one of their chieftains, Osman Batur. After sporadic fighting between the rebels and provincial troops, Sheng agreed to negotiate and to release the prisoners. However, before they were released, a number of them were executed. Incensed by this act of treachery, the Kazakhs in the Altai region revolted again. They put up a strong resistance but were finally overwhelmed by Sheng's forces. Osman Batur fled.

When Sheng turned against the Russians and attempted a rapprochement with China, Osman Batur organized the Altai-Kazakh Restoration Society. With arms from Outer Mongolia and the tacit support of Soviet Russia, he attacked and captured Ching-ho, Tacheng (Chuguchak) and A-shan (Altai). He was besieging Wu-su in 1944 when the new governor, Wu Chung-hsin, decided to negotiate. In the settlement of this uprising, which has been called the "Ining (Kulja) Incident", the Chinese agreed to withdraw their troops from Kulja and to grant the Kazakhs semi-autonomy in the territory they held which included Kuldja, Ta-cheng and A-shan. The new Eastern Turkestan Republic was established at Kulja. It had a government headed by a council of three, a Kazakh, a Uighur, and a White Russian. One of the leaders, Akhmejan Kasimi, was placed in charge of administration and finance; another of the leaders, Osman Batur, headed the army, which at one time was reported to number 40,000 men.

175 By November, 1945, the Ili rebellion had spread to the Tarim
669 Basin and insurgent forces surrounded Yarkand, Khargalik, and Kho-
(648) tan. At that time it was denied that Soviet Russia gave any military

N
161 provinces of Northwest China. How much resulted from natural increase and how much is due to recent immigration, is hard to say, because there are no available data. Nevertheless, judged by some current information, the large increase of
N S
[167] population of Shensi and Kansu is probably due more to natural increase than to immigration, while the cause for the relatively small increase of Chinghai and Sinkiang is perhaps just the opposite.

N D. Distribution of Population by Provinces, Ethnic Groups,
635 Occupation, and Urban Centers
161 (See Table XIV.)

Before the abolition of Ninghsia in 1955, its population was less than 800,000 living in an area of about 90,000 square miles with a density of about eight persons per square
S mile. At that time, the density of former Kansu Province was
[161] eighty per square mile. Thus the average population density of Chinghai, Sinkiang, and former Ninghsia would be about the same, seven to eight persons per square mile.

N Shensi: The population of Shensi Province is predominantly
635 Chinese, concentrated in the Han-chung Basin and the Wei-ho
162 Valley Plain. The former is in the southern part of the Province, drained by the upper Han River flowing into the Yangtze at Kankow. The latter is in the east central part of the Province, drained by the Wei-ho which enters the Yellow River above Tungkuan. The Han-chung Basin and Wei-ho Plain are the two most densely peopled areas of the province of Shensi and the whole Northwest Region. Northern Shensi is hilly and mountainous. It is more thinly populated. There are about four million Mohammedans or Chinese Moslems known as Dungans. They are distributed more in the northwestern part of the province. In addition, a small number of Mongols are found near the Ordos in the north.

Kansu: The former province of Kansu is fairly populated and known as the "Secondary Homeland" of the Moslems in China. The number of Dungans amounts to nearly one third, while the true or Han-Chinese account for about one half of the total population of the province. The rest are Mongols and "Fan" natives. The Mongols are distributed mostly in the former Ninghsia Province; there are the Alashan Mongols scattered in the desert of Alashan in the east, and the Ölöt (Oirat) Mongols along the Ta-hei-ho or Jo-shui or the Edsin River in the west. The "Fan" natives are found in the southwest close to Chinghai Province. They are related to the Tibetan family. Thus they are often called Hsi-Fan or Western Fan or Tsang-fan, the Tibetan natives. The Shero-Yügur, Sarigh-Uighur and Monguor form smaller minority groups.

1: Washington S-2 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI1

[62] [181] The Kashgarian population is known as gentle, good natured, honest, and of unusual hospitality." (Pevtsov, M. V : Puteshestvie V Kashgariiu i Kun-lun, Journey to Kashgaria and Kun-lun, P. 53).

Out of the 4.8 million population, the Turkic people constitute by far the largest group in number. They amount to 3.7 million and include the Uighurs or Eastern Turks, Taranchi, Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Tatars. The Uighurs are the largest, numbering 3.6 million. They are distributed mainly around the Tarim Basin. The Mongols are the second largest including the Olöts, Torguts, Khoshuts, Chahar, Urianghai, a mixture between Turkic and Mongols or rather Mongolized Turks. There are over 300,000 Kazaks and over 70,000 Kirghiz. They are distributed mostly in the north and south Dzungarian Basin respectively.

The Chinese and Dungans form the third largest group with a total of over 300,000 of which two thirds are Chinese. (Not counting the newly arrived large number of the Chinese Armed Forces). The small number of pure Chinese consist of officials, merchants, and colonists They are distributed mainly in southern Dzungaria and the Ili Valley. They are on the increase as a result of the intensified economic development of the province. The Manchus are small in number with a total of about 5,000 consisting of Solons and Sibos. They represent the remnants of the old Manchu guards and officials. Both the Chinese and Manchus are found largely in the big towns north of the Tien-shan and in the Ili Valley, except Hami which lies south of the "Celestial Mountain" Range.

Chinese colonists in Sinkiang, even though small in numbers, exhibit a rather variegated pattern. There are the soldiers who came into the region during the campaigns of Tso Tsung-t'ang and of whom many remained first in military colonies (tun-t'ien) and later as free settlers. They were mostly from Hunan province and Hunan Chinese were for a time so conspicuous in the region that Sinkiang has been referred to as "Little Hunan." Petty merchants who followed Tso's bandwagon were mostly from Peking and Tientsin and again many of them stayed and expanded their businesses after the campaign was over. Among these, down to the present, Sinkiang is referred to as the Great Western Camp. Later autocratic governors such as Yang Tseng-hsin and Sheng Shih-ts'ai drew their fellow provincials into the region. The most recent [167] wave of settlers however came from the provinces of Kansu, Shensi, Shansi, and Szechwan, most of them driven by famines; a poor lot altogether, trying to forget the vicissitudes of life by indulging in opium. A sprinkling of Chinese from Manchuria can also be found in Sinkiang, remnants of the evacuated armies of

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

S
N **B. Population Problems**

563 1. Traditional Antagonism Between the Moslems and the Chinese

578 669 648 175 Of the many problems in regard to the population of Northwest China, the traditional antagonism between the Moslems and the Chinese, together with its international complications, is by far the most serious. Moslem uprisings have been frequent and often caused great massacres on both sides. In most cases the Moslem disturbances are supported and made use of by ambitious neighboring powers, particularly Russia - both Tsarist and Soviet. In 1871 Tsarist Russia used the 1861-1874 Moslem disturbance as a pretext to occupy the Ili Valley and then force China to cede the lower part of the Valley, sest of Khargos to Russia. Time and again Russia took advantage of Moslem troubles in Sinkiang to make some special territorial, political and economic demands in the provinces, i.e., free trade in Sinkiang by the Ili Commercial Treaty of 1851 and the cession of the territory west of Tarbagatai by the treaty of Chuguchak (Ta-cheng) in 1864.

S
648 Sinkiang had always been a center of international intrigue between Russia and Britain for the spoils of Central Asia, as well as the barometer of power relations between Russia and China. (See Foreign Relations).

S 2. The Uighur Autonomy

642 177 [668] Under the Chinese Communist Regime, Sinkiang became the Uighur Autonomous Area in September, 1955. A National Autonomy for Sinkiang was first recommended by General Chang Chih-chung, a liberal Nationalist Government high official in 1946-49. He was "influenced by views of American politicians who insisted that the principle of self-government should be applied to Sinkiang also - an illusory wish for a people which stood between Russia and China, like a mouse between two cats." (CNA. No. 103, October 7, 1955).

S
167 708 466 A continuous great influx of Chinese to Sinkiang has occurred, which is particularly marked by the present-day Army Construction Corps and the presence of the Corrective Labor Force. The soldiers are sent to meet the urgent demand of labor to undertake the gigantic construction program and the latter, estimated at several hundred thousands, are condemned to forced labor in the thinly populated border areas. (See: Labor).

S
642 668 177 "Since the Chinese Communist troops entered Sinkiang, the rulers have always been Chinese, and at present, with the introduction of autonomy, this Chinese domination is the more emphasized." (CNA. No. 103, October 7, 1955). Furthermore, Government officials are transferred from Peking to Sinkiang in large numbers. On August 21, 1955, seventy-nine officials from the "First Grade Offices" of the Central Government left Peking for Sinkiang; at the same time

433 increase of 11.5 percent in the combined areas of Inner Mongolian, Sinkiang, and T'ung Autonomous Area in Kweichow. (KM. October 4, 1955). Supposing the increase in Sinkiang was ten percent which owing to the heavy natural disasters in 1954 is probably too high an estimate, it would mean 1.76 million tons of food stuffs in 1954, i.e. about 430 catties per head. In this context, a report which claimed that food production is 747 catty per head was published (KM. September 15, 1955).

311 312 185 Soil conservation is just as important as water conservation in land reclamation in arid and semi-arid areas. Human survival in Sinkiang for over 2,000 years has been involved in a continual fight against the aridity of the climate and the central Asiatic agricultural alkali, salt-saturated soil. Every year's floods convert even hitherto fertile lands into alkali, sterile soil. There are "Kariz" wells which are connected by underground canals, reaching a total length of 2,500 km. between Hami and Turfan only. This is evidently a means of combating the impermeability of the soil, which makes surface irrigation harmful.

503 653 According to 1954 Government Reports, 50,000 long or short canals with a total length of 30,000 km. have been repaired by the Army and by the people. (PD. August 28, 1955). In an October 1955 report: 1,600 canals are under repair and also 1,500 wells have been added (PD. October 21, 1955).

311 312 185 Large scale irrigation and water conservancy work are at present in the state of planning only: survey works are going on at the Manas and Urumchi Rivers and at the Turfan Basin for the future building of larger irrigation works and hydraulic power stations. (PD. October 31, 1955). But to fight against alkali soil will remain a continuous problem in land reclamation in Sinkiang as well as elsewhere in the arid and semi-arid Northwest of China. It was reported in 1955 that 300,000 mou of alkali land were reclaimed around Chigalik Lake in the northeast Hami area, and southwest Aksu. Rice has been planted in the former too, and cotton in the latter area. How long will the newly reclaimed land reclaim productive under the ever-increasing accumulation of alkali in the soil is still a problem which remains to be solved.

433 2. Soldier Colonization

433 648 167 466 Although no data concerning the exact number of Chinese soldiers in Sinkiang are available, the figures must be enormous - judged by the gigantic work undertaken by Chinese soldiers under the name of "Production and Construction Troops of the Sinkiang Military Area." One million one hundred thousand mou (166,000 acres) of the three million mou extended arable land during the period 1949-55 are due to the labor of the Army

433 Agrarian Production Troops. More than 40,000 mou are
648 using machines bought from Soviet Russia. The Army Agrarian
167 Production Troops themselves produced 31,000 tons of winter
466 wheat crop on 440,000 mou (124 catty per mou) in the spring of 1955. They are expected to produce 23,500 tons of cotton on 150,000 mou (310 catty per mou) in the same year. (PD. October 9, 1955). Eighty thousand out of the 150,000 mou cotton are at the Manas River (PD. June 29, and October 1, 1955). Forty-five percent of the total agricultural work of the Army troops is now being done by machines. (Report of Tao Shih-yu eh, Cf. CNA. No. 103, p. 2 or PD. September 27, 1955). In 1954 the total cotton cultivating area in Sinkiang was 800,000 mou. In 1955 it was supposed to be increased to 1,160,000 mou (PD. March 9, 1955).

The working troops of the Army are also developing virgin soil with the help of 184 tractors. The development of 600,000 mou south of Tien-shan chain of mountains was planned for 1955. It was reported in May and June 1955 that the troops had already broken up 20,000 mou of virgin land. Around Urumchi, one tractor works ten mou in an hour.

The Army is also taking part in the industrial development of Sinkiang and since 1950 has been constructing a textile mill, and iron and steel plant, a cement works, a power generator factory and coal mines. (PD. April 4, 1952; KM March 3, 1954; PD March 13, October 30, 1954 and July 14, 1955: KM September 16, 1955; and PD September 27, 1955).

"It would seem strange that the regular Army should engage in all these works. The production and construction troops which undertake the most arduous labor in inhuman, primitive conditions, undoubtedly consist of that multitude condemned to corrective labor in the border areas, of whom the Ministry of Public Security spoke of as people who will never come back from the border areas." (Cf. CNA Nos. 53 and 56.)

167 In addition to the exile of corrective laborers, a great number
466 of youngsters, boys and girls (apart from thousands of Party
177 cadres and several hundred thousands of soldiers) even from Junior Middle Schools are also being transferred to Sinkiang. In one single group 540 such youngsters traveled from Nanking (PD. August 26, 1955). The idea probably is that these youngsters going at an early age to Sinkiang will be more easily acclimatized.

433 3. A Resume of Possibilities and Their Limitations.

It has been estimated that the planned annual increase of 6.2 million long tons of grain can at most support another two million people at the present low standard of living of an average Chinese peasant. At least three million mou of irrigated land have been added in Sinkiang from 1949-55. It is said that in Sinkiang 110,000,000 mou could be added to the present 22,000,000.

II. The Turkic People of the Northwest

563
101 A. The New Uighurs (or Eastern Turks)

The Turks of Sinkiang call themselves after the cities where they live, e.g. Kashgarlik, Turfanlik, Kuchalik, etc.... After [668] the Communist Revolution the Communists introduced the term Uighurs for the Eastern Turks, living in the Ili District. The term 563 later was adopted by the Chinese.

144 1. Physical characteristics

In one sense the Eastern Turks are the descendants of the old [187] Uighurs who migrated to present day Sinkiang during the ninth cen- [175] tury A.D., Later they had mixed with Indo-european tribes and other Turkish tribes of the Chagatai Ulus (empire) and to a small degree also with the Mongols. Thus, in the terminology employed by E. Frhr. von Eickstedt, "Rassenkunde und Rassengeschichte der Menschheit, Stuttgart, 1934, the Eastern Turks show many europid and some turanid racial characteristics, and only a slight degree of mongoloid traits.

142 A more detailed description of the average physical type of 141 Eastern Turkestan is as follows: dark hair and eyes, (sometimes 563 lighter occasionally blue eyes), white or yellowish skin with sometimes a slight inclination to brown, middle or tall stature, on the average 1680-1700 mm., with a tendency toward obesity. The head is definitely brachycephalic with a length-width index of 85-87, a longish-oval face, with wide cheek-bones, a straight and rather prominent nose, eyes lacking the mongoloid fold, and everted lips.

2. Economy

433 The main occupations of the Eastern Turks are horticulture, 563 agriculture and animal husbandry. The Eastern Turks breed camels, horses, sheep, and goats. They are famous for their fertile fruit-orchards, which are mostly artificially irrigated. Handicraft is fairly developed, but has no economic significance.

3. Religion

701 The Eastern Turks are Moslems, adherents of the Sun sect. 563 However, they display an attitude towards religion. This does [793] not refer to the leading religious clergy who form a kind of a gentry together with the nobility of the rich landowners.

178 4. Social organization

614 In contrast to the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, and Uzbeks, the Eastern 563 Turks have lost their clan system and tribal organization com- 186 pletely. There is no antagonism between the Eastern Turks and 563 the remaining Turkic tribes, although the nomadic Turkic tribes exhibit some contempt of the Eastern Turks. However, there is an old and remarkable hatred between the Turks and the Chinese, due partly to the greater efficiency and industriousness of the Chinese.

563 and their thin beards were black. They were of average height
[142] and no corpulent people were observed.

2. Economic activities

[233] The Sarigh-Uighurs are breeding horses, cows and sheep. Their
[556] economic position seems to be very poor. Even the richest man owns
[291] only a few horses and cows. They live in homesteads. Their clothing is Chinese in style.

H. The Tatars

1. Economic activities

Only a few thousand Tatars live in Sinkiang. They represent
[167] a very distinctive Mongoloid type of Turk. Most of the Sinkiang Tatars had fled from the former Kazan Khanate in the Volga region after the Communist Revolution. Some, however, have lived in Sinkiang since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
[463] Despite their small numbers the Tatars have had remarkable in-
[44] fluence as merchants and traders due to their high education.
[871] For a long time they have been the middlemen between the Russian merchants and the Turkic tribes.

2. Religion and literature

[771] The Tatars are either Moslems or Christians. Their litera-
[538] ture is very well-developed and illiteracy is practically unknown.
[212] In Sinkiang they still use the Arabic script.

III. The Mongols of the Northwest

A. The Mongols of Sinkiang

1. General characteristics

The Mongolian tribes of Sinkiang are all Oirats or Western
[167] Mongols. Only the Chahar Mongols, who were transferred from Inner Mongolia by the Manchus, are Eastern Mongols. A small group, the so-called Uriangkhai, are considered to be Mongols, but in reality they are Turks who have adopted Mongolian as their new language.

a. tribes

[619] The Western Mongols (Oirats or Ölöts) of Sinkiang consist of
[197] two tribes: the Koshuts and the Torguts. They all speak a Western Mongolian dialect, very similar to Kalmuck, formerly spoken in the Kalmuck Socialist Republic.

b. religion and economy

[771] All Western Mongols are faithful Buddhists. They are said to
[233] be very uniform in their customs and habits. They are all pastoral
[342] nomads and breed horses, camels, sheep and yaks. They still live
[614] in collapsible tents. The clan system is well preserved.

2. Physical characteristics

563 Employing Eickstedt's terminology, the Western Mongols repre-
141 sent the Mongoloid race, and are one of its purest examples: the
142

S
563 body skin is brownish or yellowish and brachycephalism is found
141 in more than 92%. They have high cheek bones, the nose is flat
142 and the eyes show the typical Mongoloid eyefold. The eyes are either black or brown, sometimes even light brown. The hair is also black or dark brown, coarse and straight. Hair growth is sparse. The average height is about 1670 mm. The trunk is strongly built and the legs are rather short in comparison to those of the Uzbeks or Tajiks.

S
563 3. Relations with non-Mongols

There is no animosity between the various Mongol tribes; there is a definite antagonism between the Mongols and the Kazakhs and between the Mongols and the Chinese.

S 4. History
563 The Western Mongols are direct descendants from the Oirats
175 of the great Mongolian conquest. At least, since 600 A.D. they
S have lived in this area. Some of the Torguts are recent immi-
[167] grants or, more accurately, returnees. They left Russia in 1771 and returned to their homeland, Dzungaria.

S
563 As far as social organization is concerned, the Oirats are said to represent the old Mongolian pattern. Tribal leaders inherit their political positions, and property is considered in terms of pastures and cattle.

S 5. The leagues
563 The Mongols of Sinkiang were organized into three leagues:
631 (1) the Unen Susuqtu League, consisting of ten banners of Torguts
(2) the Batu Setkhiltu League, consisting of three banners of Khoshuts
(3) the Ching Setkhiltu League, consisting of three banners of Khoshuts and seven banners of Uriangkhai.

B. The Mongols of Kansu

N 1. The Mongours
*563 a. history
101
M The Mongours are the most important Mongolian tribe living
[101] in Kansu. They are known under various names. Potanin called them Shirongols, the Chinese call them Tu-jen, the Olots and Torguts call them Dalda or Doldo, the Tanguts call them Cha-hor, but the Mongours themselves use only the latter term. The Mongours
N have been studied by Father Schram who states that the Mongours
*563 came to Kansu in the course of the Mongol conquests in the thir-
*175 teenth century and that furthermore the Mongours were already
[167] settled in the Hsi-ning area when the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644)
M was founded. The Ch'ing dynasty (1644-1911) "benefitting by the
175 experience of the Ming succeeded in organizing the country, pri-
[167] marily by subduing the neighbouring tribes of Kokonor, assigning definite territories to each of them and placing them under the jurisdiction of an Amban in 1732; having thus removed the danger of forays by nomadic tribes they were able to develop the country

563 2. Physical characteristics
142 Racially they are described as Europoids of the Dinaric sub-
[144] division. They have long, small faces with prominent and convex noses, and their skulls in most cases show occipital bulges. Their bodies are slender. Their hair is brown or black, but, in a few cases, also blonde. Their eyes are usually brown, but not as dark as the eyes of the neighbouring Kirghiz.

3. History and economic activities

563 The Tajiks have lived in this area for over two thousand years. Their predecessors were the Iranian people who spoke the Saka
[186] language. Between the Tajiks and the Turks an excellent relationship prevails, but there is an old animosity between the Tajiks and the Chinese.

[241] Due partly to their skilled irrigation system, the Tajiks cultivate oats, vegetables and barley with great success.

B. The Russians

The Russians living in Sinkiang can be divided into three groups. The first group consists of those merchants who maintained trade with the cities of Sinkiang for more than a hundred years and who usually lived in Chuguchak, Kuldja, Kashgar and Urumchi. The
• [167] second group consists of refugees who fled Russia after 1918 and became technical laborers, chauffeurs, electricians, miners, road
563 constructors and so on. The third group consists of those Russians
648 whom the Soviets sent to Sinkiang for political reasons. They maintained Soviet Consulates in all the major cities of Sinkiang and had a very numerous staff. Soviet propaganda had a remarkable influence between 1920 and 1949. According to recent reports of Turkish refugees, the Russians still have military detachments in Sinkiang.

193 9) express a negative verb by a special suffix, e.g. qilmɯq
197 "to do, to make," qilmamɯq "not to do, not to make"
10) have a special interrogative suffix -mu and do not change the position of the words within a sentence as Indo-European languages do in interrogative sentences, e.g. baγqa yol barduɯr "there is a road to the garden," but baγqa yol bar muduɯr? "Is there a road to the garden?"
11) replace confunctions by participial or gerundial constructions, e.g. bolmɔq' "to be or to become," bolsæm "if I were," the suffix -sæm could be defined as a conditional converb.

197 C. Eastern Turkish and its Subdialects

Although Eastern Turkish is a highly uniform dialect, from an accurate linguistic point of view, several subdialects can be distinguished.

1. The Southern subdialects

The Southern subdialects are spoken in the southern and southwestern part of Eastern Turkistan and in the cities and oases of Kashgar, Yarkand, Yengi Hissar and Khotan. On the basis of the small amount of material which we possess about them it can be shown that the subdialects spoken in the Kerya, Cherchen, Maralbashi, and Aqsu oases also belong to the Southern Subdialect group.

2. The Northeastern subdialects

The Northeastern subdialects, also called Kucha-Turfan-subdialects, are spoken in the cities and oases of Kucha, Qarashär, Turfan, and Qomul. The peculiarity of these subdialects is the existence of long vowels which do not appear in the other subdialects. Furthermore, among Northeastern subdialects vocalic harmony is not as strictly observed as in the other subdialects of Eastern Turkish. This is due to the influence of the surrounding Uzbek dialect which lost some of its vocalic harmony as a result of contact with the Iranian languages.

[193] [194]

3. Taranchi subdialect

The so-called Taranchi subdialect is spoken in the Ili valley and around the cities of Kulja and Jarkent (Dungan: Samar) by Turks who migrated to this area in the nineteenth century. They came from Kashgar, Yarkend, Khotan, Aqsu, and Turfan. The peculiar phonetic feature of the Taranchi subdialect is the absence of the most characteristic back Turkic ï-sound.

[167]

However, these slight differences among the subdialects do not present the slightest obstacle to the possibility of communicating.

193 D. The Phonetic System of Eastern Turkish
194 Eastern Turkish has eight front vowels: i, ü, ä, e, ö, ɛ,

3) Predominance of nasalized vowels, -ã, and ẽ

4) A group of words like cha, ch'a, sha, etc. have ts-, tsh-, s-, respectively.

5) These dialects show a different treatment of words like chu, ch'u, shu, ju, etc. While in some dialects they have ts-, tsh-, s-, z-, (or rarely tʂ-, tʂh-, ʂ-, ʐ-) plus -y, in other dialects they have pf-, phf-, f-, v- respectively plus -u.

6) The following contrasts are observed only in some of these dialects:

a) Contrast between n- and l-
b) Contrast between v- and u-
c) Contrast between s- and ç- before -i
d) Contrast between -ẽ and -əŋ

Areas with Chinese minorities are found in Sinkiang and the U.S.S.R. The Mandarin-speaking officials, merchants, soldiers, and criminals who went to the larger cities of Sinkiang (i.e. Urumchi, etc.) in frequent waves of migration, resulted in the predominance of the Mandarin dialect in these cities. Descendants of the Chinese Moslems, under the name of Dungans, migrated from the provinces of Kansu and Shensi in the second half of the 19th century. They still preserve their native Chinese language with minor changes. The center of the Kansu dialect is the Alexandrowka settlement, in Kirghizstan, in the vicinity of Frunse (former Pischpek). The center of the Shensi dialect is Karakunuz, in Kazakstan, which lies not far from the city of Tokmak.

The phonological structure of the ancient northwestern dialects of the 8th and 9th centuries is demonstrated in some Chinese texts which were discovered in Tibetan transcription at Tun-huang. These ancient dialects, presumable of Kansu, do not seem to be directly ancestral to the modern dialects described above. The striking features of the ancient dialect, as revealed by the Tibetan spellings in the thousand character classic are the different development in -i and -u; the distinction between m-: 'b-; n-: 'd-; (ŋ): 'g; and the partial loss of the final -ŋ.

V Concluding Remarks

Most of the Western Mongols of the Northwest region speak Chinese as a second language. The percentage of those who are bilingual is rather high (about two thirds). The Monguors, however, rarely speak a second language. Very few individuals know Chinese or Tibetan. Among the Turks the percentage of New Uighurs who speak Chinese is very high, due to the fact that they live side by side with the Chinese. The same is true for the Tatars, Uzbeks and Tajiks, whose employment in trade forces them to learn the main language of the country. Those Turks who live in the moun-

S N 191 tains, like the Kazakhs and Kirghiz, are definitely not bilingual. Among a few of them though, Russian is known.

A few of the sedentary Tibetans of the Chinghai area acquired Chinese as a second language. The Chinese Moslems learn Arabian to a very limited extent; otherwise they speak only Chinese. The official policy in regard to language education among the minorities makes the study of Chinese obligatory as a second language.

S 197 162 Besides the approximately 3 million speakers of Eastern Turkish, there are about 300,000 Kazakhs, about 70,000 Kirghiz and about 5,000 - 7,000 Uzbeks who also speak Turkic dialects. The population figures of the Salars and Sarigh-Uighur are unknown but there are only a few thousand individuals.

Besides those people, we find about 60,000 Mongols who live in Sinkiang and who speak a Western Mongolian language. We refer to this language as Kalmuck.

S 563 Many sources report that Manchus and Tungus live in Sinkiang, but in reality they became extinct 30 years ago. When the Altaist John Ramstedt visited them before the First World [S 191] War, only very few older individuals were stillliving. The younger generation already spoke Turkish.

[S 177] [197] Some 15,000 Tajiks living at the Sinkiang Russian border have become gradually Turkified. The Tajiks speak an Iranian language closely related to Persian.

S [167] The approximate number of Chinese-speaking people is about 300,000. It is well known that thousands of Russians migrated to Sinkiang since the revolution of 1917. Although it is impossible to get the present Russian census figure, a total number of 25,000 cannot be regarded as too high.

S N 212 The Arabic script is used by the New Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Uzbeks, Tatars, Salars, and Tajiks, while the Sarigh Uighurs of Kansu use the Tibetan script, having abandoned their old Uighur script during the XVIIIth century. According to the newly printed political pamphlets in Kazakh and Uighur, some modifications now occur in regard to diacritical marks; e.g. Kazakh writes for the vowel "o" the Arabic ۋ while Uighur writes ۇ the Arabic, or Kazakh uses for the vowel "a" the Arabic letter ا while Uighur writes it the following way ئا

The Mongolian script is used by the Ölöts, Torguts, the Alashan-Mongols, the Chahars and Uriangkhai.

The Chinese Moslems use both the Chinese and the Arabic scripts, although the latter usage is more or less confined to religious purposes.

The Uzbek Nation

563
619
614

1) Tribe Kytai with the clans:
   - Sary Kytai (yellow Kytai)
   - Otartshy
   - Kanjygaly (with leather straps on the saddle)
   - Kosh-tamgaly (with double tamga)
   - Tarakly (with combs)
   - Balgaly (with hammers)

2) Tribe Kypchak with the clans:
   - Tort-tamgaly (with four tamgas)
   - Sary-Kypchak (the yellow Kypchak)
   - Togus Bai (the nine principalities)

3) Tribe Kyrkmän-Yüz with the clans:
   - Kara-koily (those with black sheep)
   - Karacha (blackish)
   - Kara-sirak
   - Chapanashly

4) Tribe Yüz (hundred) with the clans:
   - Karapcha
   - Tygyryk
   - Pärchäyüs
   - Koyan Kulakly (those with rabbit ears)
   - Ergänäkli
   - Solakly
   - Khankhoja-kytaisy
   - Haji-kytaisy
   - Tuyakly (those with hoofs)
   - Sirgäli (those with ear rings)

5) Tribe Kangly
6) Tribe Naiman
7) Tribe Ming
8) Tribe Känägäs
9) Tribe Mangyt
10) Tribe Uch-ru consisting of the three groups:
    a) Mesit
    b) Yaby
    c) Tama
11) Tribe Sarai
12) Tribe Burkut
13) Tribe Allat
14) Tribe Bükhrin
15) Tribe Batash

[169] Note: It is impossible to say to which tribes or clans the Uzbeks of Sinkiang belong since most of them came to Sinkiang as single individuals and not in the form of a tribal migration.

/Turks of Sinkiang/

668 Suppression of external expression of nationalism appears to be an acceptance of the present regime, but it certainly is not to be regarded as constituting the fulfillment of the national dreams of the Turkic people in Sinkiang. The great number of Eastern [167] Turki refugees from Sinkiang testify to the fact that they consider the new regime as much more oppressive than the former Nationalist administration. During the former Chinese Imperial and Republican rule of Sinkiang, no similar mass flight of Turks occurred. The number of refugees alone indicates deep discontent.

563 C. The Traditional Animosity between the Turks and Chinese
578 The animosity of the Turks to the Chinese is one of the tradi-
669 tional attitudes which became evident in the many Moslem rebel-
186 lions against the Chinese administration in Sinkiang. The Turks regard the Chinese not only as their oppressors (Turk: gaddar) but also as infidels (Turk: kafir), who have not received the true knowledge about God. While being politically and militarily stronger and superior to the Turks, the Chinese are regarded as inferior by the Turks in culture and faith. Loyalty to the Chinese regime is not strong and is maintained by force and political pressure. We have seen the Moslem reaction to Chinese rule in the past - during the 1860's and the 1930's when large-scale rebellions took place against the existing regime. One may even take into consideration [648] the events that took place in Western Turkestan during World War II. Many of the Western Turkestanian battalions which constituted a part of the Red Army defected to the German Army. They later were organized into special units and joined the fighting against Soviet Russia. At the present, the occurrence of such an event seems unlikely in Sinkiang, and there has been no indication of an organized large-scale rebellion, or any spirited attempts to oppose the existing regime. It is likely, however, that it would be extremely difficult to trust the Turks fully as Chinese patriots. They could not be used effectively as soldiers, since their true loyalty lies with Turkic nationalism in an Islamic framework.

121 D. The Conflict of Islamic and Communist Ideologies
779 Before considering Islam in relation to other ideologies it is necessary to remember that Islam is not to be regarded as a religion only, but also as a social and political philosophy, forming a set pattern for the religious, social and political living of all Moslems. Any political ideology which attempts to enter the domain os Islam has not only to cope with a religious doctrine, but to compete with the ideas of Islam in the realm of politics.

Another important basic conception to keep in mind is the division of the world in Islam into two domains, the first of which is constituted of the believers, who have submitted to Islam - Dar

/Turks of Sinkiang/

648 the geographic location of Sinkiang, the lack of adequate transpor-
177 tation facilities, and recently because of the added political complications, foreigners are limited to Chinese, Russians, Turkic and Iranian peoples from Soviet Central Asia, Mongols, Afghans, and Indians. Only a few Europeans (Türk: Frenkler) have visited Sinkiang (with the exception of Russians in recent times), and even fewer of them have remained there for any length of time.
[799] A few European missionaries (most noted among them were the Swedish missionaries in Kashgar), British consular officers, Russian Communist diplomatic representatives and White Russian emigrees constituted the foreign colony in Kashgar, prior to the Communist regime. Today the missionaries and British consular staff members are no longer in Sinkiang.

The attitude of the Turkic people to the Western foreigners has, in general, been quite hospitable and friendly, since they did not constitute a sizable minority and had no apparent intentions which threatened the freedom and way of life of the inhabitants (with the exception of the Soviet Consulate members who engaged in espionage and intrigue in the province). People like C.P.Skrine (who served as the British consul in Kashgar) and Owen Lattimore, give the impression that the people, and particularly the nomadic ones, were hospitable and friendly and regarded the Europeans with a great deal of curiocity and interest. Misafirperverlik 'hospitality' is generously observed by all Turks, by nomadic Turks more so than by the sedentary.

The attitude toward the better-known neighbors is somewhat different. The Chinese, who both do and do not fall under the category of foreigners in Sinkiang, are regarded with great animosity, as mentioned above. The opposition of the native to both the Chinese colonizers and the administration has been extremely strong. The Russian Communists are not regarded with much more love, since the Eastern Turkis feel deeply involved in the fate of their Turkic brothers in Western Turkestan. The great
[167] waves of West Turkic refugees [mostly Kirghiz and Kazakh] to East Turkestan in 1917 and 1944 have kept the Eastern Turks informed on the situation.

[439] Friendly trade relations are usually the basis for the relationships with the Mongols, Indians and Afghans. Although they do not mix quite freely with the Eastern Turks, they are in general accepted and not regarded with animosity by the Turks.

181 F. The Concept of 'Individualism' (Turk: ferdiyetcilik)

The sedentary Turks of Sinkiang are in general highly independent and individualistic people. This individualism finds its expres-
[626] sion in the daily ways and habits of the Turkic people. The pressure to conform to a set of ideas and a set pattern of behavior is slight. The laxity in observance of the religious customs, in

175
648 The isolation of Sinkiang from the Chinese government became even more pronounced as a result of the events in Outer Mongolia. The Chinese Revolution of 1911 gave the Mongols the opportunity to declare their independence from Chinese control. This move was in part inspired and supported by Czarist Russia which established itw osn control over Outer Mongolia. Though Outer Mongolia remained nominally a part of Chinese territory, Chinese control ended and Outer Mongolia became in fact a Russian protectorate. The loss of Outer Mongolia changed the position of China in central Asia and greatly affected her hold over Chinese Turkestan. Tso Tsung-t'ang had described Turkestan as the key position for the defense of Mongolia, which in turn was important for the security of north China and of the capital. Now Turkestan itself was outflanked by the Russian position in Mongolia. From Mongolia, Russian forces could at any time cut the corridor that led from the Chinese province of Kansu to Urumchi and Kashgar. Sinkiang, formerly the central basis of the Chinese military position in Inner Asia, now became an exposed advance position which could only be held in the long run if a new and safe connection with China Proper could be found.

Of still greater importance for the power sturggle in central Asia was the change brought about in Russia by the October Revolution. The new Soviet Russia soon resumed the Czarist policy of expansion in central Asia. But to the economic and strategic interests which had been the motivating force behind Czarist advance there was now added the Communist aim of infiltrating the neighboring area with its ideological and political organization. This Soviet advance began slowly and accelerated with the growing strength of the Soviet government. During the early years of the civil war in Siberia, Soviet Russia was in no position to resume an aggressive policy in central Asia. The Russian position in Outer Mongolia was also temporarily lost and regained only in 1922, when after the defeat of the White Russian leader Ungern Sternberg, Outer Mongolia became a Soviet satellite.

[167] The outcome of the red victory in the civil war in Siberia had the immediate result of bringing a stream of White Russian refugees to the central Asiatic areas. In addition to smaller groups, two White Russian armies retreated into Sinkiang in 1920 and 1921. The number of these troops has been reported as 30,000 to 40,000 men, a much stronger force than the Chinese army of governor Yang Tseng-hsin. In Outer Mongolia, White Russian forces retreating at that time had been able to take over the government, but the Chinese administration of Sinkiang managed to bring the Russian influx into its territory fully under control. Most of the Russian troops let themselves be disarmed and were interned at Kuchengste. Other troops which had retreated to the Altai border region of Russia and Outer Mongolia retained their arms.

S
175
648 support from its new military allies, the Chinese National Government searched for new links with the outside world. In February 1942
N on his visit to India, Chian Kai-shek explored the possibility of the
*175 supply route via Tibet through Chinghai Province. While this long
*648 and arduous route never became of major importance, it served as
491 a communication link over which large commercial caravans passed for many years, even after the war. This development
S brought new importance to Chinghai Province where the Moslem
175 general, Ma Pu-ch'ing, was appointed Pacification Comissioner
648 by the National Government. This appointment was of still greater importance for the Sinkiang Government. As a Moslem, Ma Pu-ch'ing could become a potential rival of Governor Sheng Shih-ts'ai in extending his influence over the Moslem Turks of Sinkiang Province, as Ma Chung-ying had done before him. More important still was his control over the strategically located province of Chinghai. From Chinghai was to open a route to the Tarim Basin and to the southern part of Sinkiang. Since this route passed to the south of the Nanshan Range, it was better protected from any Soviet threat from Outer Mongolia than was the caravan route of the Kansu corridor. This corridor to Sinkiang had been controlled by the Russian tank force at Qomul while the new route, if developed, would give the National Government a passage to Sinkiang not so easily threatened from Soviet-controlled territory. In fact, the build-up of Chinghai as a strategic center was the logical Chinese Nationalist answer to the Russian domination of Outer Mongolia. Sinkiang, formerly a center of the Chinese Inner-Asian position, had now become a contested frontier area which could be held only if a relatively safe and practicable connection could be opened up. From this time on, the Chinese position at Sining and the Kokonor and in the Tsaidam area became of key strategic importance.

S While the Chinese National Government was beginning to re-
175 establish its position in central Asia, it negotiated with Sheng Shih-
648 ts'ai. Chiang Kai-shek himself came to Lanchow in Kansu and the chief of the northwest headquarters at Sian, General Chu Shao-liang, flew twice to Urumchi for negotiations with Governor Sheng. The second time he was accompanied by Madame Chiang Kai-shek and Wu Chunghsin, who was in 1944 to become successor to Governor Sheng. At this time, Wu Tse-hsiang (Chaucer H. Wu) became Governor Sheng's Commissioner for Foreign Affairs. In the fall of 1943, Governor Sheng himself flew to Chungking to confer with Chiang Kai-shek, As a result of these talks, the National Government began to subsidize the Sinkiang administration. Several thousand
S Chinese refugees were moved into Sinkiang between 1942 and 1943,
• [167] and at the beginning of 1943 Nationalist troops were also sent in.

This Nationalist advance was paralleled by the withdrawal of the Soviet troops which began in spring of 1942 and was almost

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

mounds and clumps of saxaul, brought us to the borders of the Kueitun River, by the banks of which was a village where we spent the night. The river, which was wide and rapid, was crossed by a good bridge. From our inn court we had access to the bank, so we took advantage of the running water to wash a few clothes, not that we expected to make them the cleaner by dipping them in the yellow flood, but as fleas were very bad we hoped that some of them would be carried away by the force of the current.

At 2-30 a.m. Sandy Macnab fetched us out of bed for an early start. A twenty-five mile drive, over loose sand mixed with loess, brought us to one single hut where a handsome Chantow woman and her daughter, wearing red veils, talked to us while we boiled a saucepan of hot water and cooked a meal. There was only one well, with a very poor supply of water.

The thirty miles of the afternoon stage to Hansantai traversed a road so hard and even that it would have been reckoned as a good motor-track in any country. Here we rested for the Sunday. We were now near a region where many travellers had been robbed, for the country was wild in the extreme and offered a natural protection to brigand bands. The Governor had placed a military guard at this point, to supply escorts as needed, and a band of mounted police patrolled the roads. In this lonely spot lived two old men, brothers, who told us that at the age of fourteen and sixteen they had run away together from their home in Sian, and wandering to 'Kow Wai' had lived here ever since, never returning to their relations, nor even ever hearing of them again. They were now both over sixty years of age, and their one pleasure in life was to sit and talk with travellers from China, from whom they were never weary of hearing of the glories of modern Sian.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI 1

be a Qazaq. She wore a printed cotton gown to her ankles, and over it a striped coat, cut with an old-fashioned waistline, and down the back seam the stripes met in fishbone pattern, while her head and face were swathed in the nunlike headgear worn by all Qazaq women. A call from our driver brought an acquiescing response from her, and he drew up as she now moved toward the great mound of drying cow-dung, which is the inevitable adjunct to the Qazaq home. Her fireplace was of the simplest, a deep hole hollowed in the ground, and three iron rods and a hook, from which a kettle hung. She dexterously placed the cakes of cow dung on the embers, and blowing on them, in a short time there was a glowing fire and a singing kettle. One of her children was seen carrying water from the spring, while the other was collecting fuel, but both now came running to see us. Accepting her invitation we entered the tent, and here found her husband, a Honan man, lying down with the hateful opium pipe by his side. Nevertheless, with the manners of a gentleman, he at once rose, spread a carpet for us, and with a gesture placed his pipe at our disposal, but adding as he did so: 'You have none of these bad habits in your country.' We sat and talked with this intelligent man, who for some unknown reason had left China, wandered across the desert, and thrown in his lot with the Qazaq people, taking one of their women to be his wife and the mother of his children. Another of these enigmatic people gathered in this strangest of countries, where a man's past is known only to himself, to be buried and forgotten.

While we were talking Sandy Macnab was working. Producing a length of cotton material, of suitable size and shape to fit between the shafts of his cart, he proceeded to fasten it so as to form a feeding trough, in